584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ittpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

881 616 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli thzdr ittiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 836 626 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnal* or *pallarl*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 131 831

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held.

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas.

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her.

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
[126] gesture of his uplifted hand.

The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course, but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more
776 fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too. It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzigwuf and Amoniwuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh *mad*. Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

159 Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
[868] even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the *ti-mad*. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mutnarsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Munbokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on particularly well.

As for Pershrörsh, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability
[836] as a herdsman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, because he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with
[614] a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while questioning Erzigwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said emphatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For he, through his mother, is a descendent of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzigwuf herself is from the Pan *modol* as Mutmali is of Konorj.

To 595 562 881 WT, 881

and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To 836 784 154 618 123 interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154 I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595 Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 595 wTi 595 As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

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To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 596 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in